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753 More serious is a disease, marked by deformity, which Coyote
732 is capable of causing:
825 When a person has it, his face gets lopsided with the mouth pointing one way. Or he gets cross-eyed, or his legs or hands get cramped. There is a disfiguration somewhere. You can get it from a coyote—from touch or fright or smell, or from crossing its tracks. We kill coyotes sometimes, but we don't touch the skins.

Eye defects, particularly, are attributed to coyote sickness. "One man whose eyeballs turn up told me that his eyes were all right until he used a coyote skin for a rug. Since then his eyes have been bad."

753 The coyote shares his evil reputation with the wolf and the
825 fox. Most informants class the three together and claim that the ceremony that will cure sickness from one of them will serve for illness brought by the others. There is a definite feeling that the fox is the least dangerous of the trio and that the coyote is the
[763] most baneful. The appearance of a fox, however, is taken as an omen of impending death: "Gray Fox . . . . is connected with death. If at dark Fox goes near some camps, that means that someone in that group is going to die."

In the following discussion the nexus between wolf sickness and the evil influence of the coyote is made clear:

[777] The wolf, coyote, and fox . . . . bring bad luck and make you sick, even if you
[732] only touch them or smell their breath. Such contact deforms a person, making him cross-eyed, turning his lips, and making him twitch. At Fort Sill an old lady had her dog follow a wolf. The woman went after the wolf in order to help her dog, and she pulled the wolf, which was in a hole, by the hind leg. She became
[755] ill. She began to get cross-eyed and to shake, and her lips became crooked. Geronimo was living then, and he sang over her and cured her.[19]

231 Of dogs the people say: "We didn't have dogs in the old days.
177 Dogs make a lot of noise. The Chiricahua were on the run and couldn't have them." "We have had them only since contact
231 with the whites." Evidently the dog was at first greatly feared:
753 The dog was classed with the coyote, wolf, and fox. We felt that all of them
825 could cause you trouble. We wouldn't touch the skin of a dead dog. When you have a disease from a dog, the saliva comes down as it does with a mad dog. You get a little crazy and go, "Aaaa!"

[19] Geronimo's coyote power ceremony (pp. 40–41) is probably what was used on this occasion.

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either." [787] [526]

825 [752] [755] 825 601

Snake.[11]—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

825 753

It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

[11] The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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753 825 On the banks of Medicine Creek at Fort Sill I went fishing. I left my cap on a bank. I went back to the village. The next day I went to look for my cap. I found it and wiped off the sweat from my face with the cap.

753 755 825 The next day my face was swollen. My relatives did not know what was wrong. They consulted an old shaman, a woman. She could trace everything from her singing. She said prayers and sang four songs over me. No one knew what was wrong. While she sang, she saw a cap on a bank. It was mine. While she was looking at it, she saw something moving and coiling around inside the cap. My relatives asked me about my cap. I told them what had happened. Then the old lady knew what had happened. A water moccasin had got into my cap.

753 825 There are many ways of contracting the disease:

[761] A person gets sick by being bitten. . . . . The sloughed skin of the snake will also cause the sickness. If I pick up the skin where I am weeding, it causes death too. A person can get sick from being scared by a rattlesnake. . . . . A person gets sick from smelling the snake. If a person lies where a snake has been, he gets sick from that.

[578] Mention of the snake is usually avoided except in invective: "The snake is used in quarreling. Sometimes people say, 'I wish a snake would bite you!' " But this, too, has its dangers:

If a man says in anger, "I hope a snake bites you," he will get sick from snakes. He has a bad mouth. Before this the snakes have not bothered him, but he's got a bad mouth, and it's bound to make him sick.

The fate of an impious man who defied the precepts for commercial gain is told today:

Every spring white spots used to come around that man's mouth. It happened right up to the time of his death. This is because he did things against the Chiricahua's way. He went around and fooled with rattlesnakes. Many people living here have seen what would happen to his mouth every spring.

He used to catch rattlesnakes and skin them and sell the skins. He was a strong man, and he used to grab them in the back of the neck and strangle them to death. Then he'd skin that snake. He'd take out his knife and cut it open. He'd put one end of the skin in his mouth, with the blood and fat all over him and streaming down his face, and he'd pull at it to separate the skin from the rest. He used to call to other people, "Come here! Get hold of this!" But no one would go near him. After that he got sick from it and got these white spots every spring. The Chiricahua doesn't want to have anything to do with snakes. I know I don't even want to look at a rattlesnake.

825 231 Even animals are susceptible to the malignant influence of snakes:

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We had a good sheep dog. She found a nest of small snakes and ate them. Then she got so mean we couldn't do anything with her. We were afraid of her. She wouldn't obey and would come running at you. We had to shoot her.

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[869]

Owl and ghost.—Fear of the owl, initially communicated to children by the very panic of their elders, grows in intensity with the passage of time. It is said: "Coyote and the snake are about the same, but the owl is most dreaded." "The Chiricahua are afraid to say anything about owls or to tell stories of owls." Nor can the presence of an owl around camp be treated with indifference:

If an owl hangs around your camp, you can take a burning stick from the fire and throw it in the owl's direction. Some would shoot at these birds. But a man who had power from that bird wouldn't shoot at it. He would be praying to it. He would know what it was around for.

When my wife and baby and I are in sheep camp and the owl begins to hoot, we don't like it. My wife often asks me to chase it. Sometimes a little child gets scared. We don't like an owl around when children are sleeping.

A typical reaction to the sight of an owl is that of the old woman of this narrative:

My sheepherder is a Shawnee Indian. Not long ago he killed an owl and brought it into my camp. We didn't notice what he was doing. An old woman was there. It was about twenty minutes before she knew what it was. She thought it was an eagle at first. Finally she asked me what it was, and I looked and told her it was an owl. Then she blew up and began to scold. "Throw that thing away! It's going to cause you evil influence," she said. I said, "Not me, but that fellow who is handling it." "Yes, you, for you have it in your camp," she answered.

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The owl is so greatly feared because it is the form assumed by another agent of disease and malevolence; it is the materialization of the ghost:

Once I was riding along with Old N. and we heard an owl. N. was a brave man, but he got so scared he nearly fell off the horse. I said, "Why, that's only a bird!" "Don't say that!" N. told me. "It's a ghost. It comes out of the grave and it goes back."

The proper destination of the shades of the deceased is the underworld, where it is hoped they will continue another existence oblivious of the living on the earth above. Their materialization as owls can indicate only an evil purpose:

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"Throw it away! It will make you sick!" A similar attitude is reflected in this statement: 825 753

When you are sick the shaman may tell you that you have slept on an eagle feather or something like that which has made you ill. You could get sick from the eagle. And there were people [shamans] who knew about that.

Lots of people even felt that it was a bad sign to have an eagle fly around the camps in the old days. When birds are supposed to be wild and to live out in the mountains, they shouldn't come around where people live. It looked to the Chiricahua as if they were being sent when they did come, as if they were a bad sign.

But there are also those who express no fear of the eagle. 825 "Eagle feathers are thought to give a person strength. The eagle is not regarded like a coyote [i.e., inherently evil]." Moreover, [223] eagles are trapped and killed for their feathers, and eaglets are [237] occasionally reared in cages until they can be plucked. [231]

In general an unfavorable overtone and some fear mark comments about the buzzard:

Some are afraid of the buzzard. I remember that, when I'd go to pick up a buzzard feather, my father would call out, "Drop that feather!" Most Chiricahua do not think much about buzzards until they have a ceremony performed over them and a shaman gives them some directions about it, such as not to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or something like that. But these restrictions are not true for every Chiricahua; they are not general.

Another bird that is viewed with circumspection is the parrot:

The Chiricahua were not very familiar with parrots. Once in a while they saw them in Mexico. Only a few people have seen the parrot. They know it mocks you, and they don't like to be around it. They are afraid of it. They say, "Why is it that a bird imitates people? There must be something to it." I have heard people say, "If a bird talks, there must be a witch in him."

Horse, mule, spider, Thunder People, Mountain People.—There 825 are a few creatures and supernaturals which are to be feared only 753 if they are somehow offended. The horse and the mule, the [776] spider, the Thunder People, and the Mountain People comprise this list. Of the first two, it is said:

If you mistreat a horse, if you hit it on the head repeatedly, it may take revenge on you. It will cause you to get sick. Then you must go to a shaman who [755] specializes in the ceremony of the horse. The mule is bad if you mistreat it; it will [756] cause you to be sick too. The man who knows the horse cures both kinds of sickness.

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Since it is so dangerous when lightning strikes near by, everything is avoided that might "draw" it:

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When I was little I was told not to have anything red around when it was raining. Even in camps we used to stick red things under something so they wouldn't show. We consider it dangerous to have red things out during a storm. It is because they draw lightning. Red is connected with lightning. And today the Chiricahua do not like anything red to be around when it rains, like a red blanket. It is covered up or taken off the bed.

[264]

During a thunderstorm the Chiricahua refrain from eating, even though the food is prepared and waiting. Eating during a storm causes much lightning, it is thought. Even if nothing else happens, a person who eats during lightning will lose his teeth.

[231]

A paint [pied or spotted] horse is dangerous during a thunderstorm. If you are riding one at such a time, you get off.

[825]

It is dangerous to have a little fawn around in the rainy season. If they find one, they get scared and let it go, for lightning is likely to strike you if you keep it.

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The Mountain People are ordinarily pitted against disease, but they may themselves cause sickness if their rules are ignored. "The Mountain Spirits may cause you to become disfigured. That is why the masked dancers do not touch each other. Many are afraid of this sickness." Insanity may be regarded as punishment for omission of necessary ritual gestures during the masked-dancer preparation: "If the masked-dancer headdress is put on without ceremony, it makes you crazy; you see the Mountain Spirits all the time."

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Menstrual blood.—Menstrual blood is dangerous for males, and girls are taught to dispose carefully of pads worn during the flow. The illness suffered by a man or a boy as a result of contact with menstrual blood is always described as rheumatism or malformation of the joints. The most serious form of the malady is contracted from union with a menstruating woman. "The Chiricahua are afraid to have intercourse with a woman during her period. It makes them misshapen and deformed. They become unable to straighten their arms or legs. I heard of one man who did this. This man was pointed out to me. He was deformed in this way."

[834]

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825 If you have a good deer dog, burn deerskin and make him inhale it. Then he
[231] becomes a good hunter. I had a sick hunting dog. I tried everything. The dog
[232] was going down. I hated to lose him. So I got deerskin and rags and burned them together and made the dog inhale the smoke. He got well too. I tried it the last thing.

825 Buckskin, especially from deer which have been caught in
239 head nooses or otherwise killed without damage to the hide, is in great demand for ceremonial gifts and for the making of amu-
[178] lets. "It is the holy hide, used for ceremonial purposes. It is
[173] supposed to come from a strangled deer, and the skin is supposed to be unblemished. Child of the Water used it so on earth; that is why."

825 When a hunter kills a deer, the carcass, the hide, and even the
224 offal are treated according to prescribed rule, but, since all hunters observe these usages, a description of them is deferred until hunting methods are treated.

756 *Bear.*—A vision journey which resulted in the acquisition of a
825 bear ceremony is described by the son of the man who became
787 a bear shaman:
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My father went across the plains twice, and the second time he slept at a place just beyond the White Sands. He usually found his tribe in the foothills at Hot Springs.

The second time, when he was sleeping at the place, something came to him. It was close to the springs. He was a little up the hills on a rock. He built a fire and went to sleep. He made a mattress of grass.

Close to morning he was sleeping there. He was sound asleep. It touched him and told him to awake. It had something to tell him. He pushed the cover off his head, and there sat a silver-tip bear. It spoke in a human way to him and told him it was time for him to get up and that he was about to get something to know and to travel by.

He got up. He knew that a door was open to him. He just walked right in, into the rocks. He was led into a room, and the bear changed itself into the form of a human and told him to follow wherever he went.

And so he showed him through the gate where the striking rocks were working, hitting against each other all the time. But they went through. Then they came to a place where four points of rock went back and forth. They also walked through that. They came to another rock that was rolling and was in the form of a round ball, just like a hill. It hit the bank on the other side all the time. But they walked over it and didn't even notice it strike the bank. Then they came to the swinging rock door, and it worked as in many other places.

Then they came to two big bears, black and white, at a gate. My father's

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Then he mixed weeds and white paint and put it over his body. He came back, and Bear said that he didn't smell him any more. 825 787

Then Bear told him to take a good rest. "Meanwhile I'll go over and hunt up your people." 539

He stayed at Bear's home four days. Four days later Bear got home again. He lay down. "I'm very tired," he said. "I found your people far away. Tomorrow we'll start out, and I'll take you to them."

The next morning the man started out with the father bear. They walked all day. About evening they came close to a mountain.

"Where do you want to stay?" Bear asked.

"In a hollow place," the man said.

"No," the bear told him. "It's better on top. It's warmer up there."

They went to the top and stayed there overnight. In the morning they started again. The next day toward sundown they went on top again. The next morning they started and walked all day. At night they went on top again. They carried dried beef with cooked fat and berries in it. The fourth morning they arose before sunup.

"Maybe we will find your people before noon," Bear said. "Then I'll go home."

About noon they found many Indian camps. Bear said, "There are your people. I'm going home now. After this if you or your children get lost, don't be afraid of Bear. Go to Bear's home." Then Bear went home, and the man went into his camp.

He found his wife and children cutting their hair off. In the old days they sometimes cut the hair short and sometimes cut it all off for mourning. They had killed all his horses and thrown away all the things he owned. [302] [765] [768]

That bear had given him a ceremony with songs and prayers when he was in that cave. Then, when he got back to his people, he helped them when they got sick. When he healed sick people, he took a circular piece of rawhide, covered it with buckskin, and painted Bear, Lightning, and Buffalo on it. That was because Bear had told him that Lightning and Buffalo were his friends and their powers all worked together. He would make this for people and put a buckskin cord on it and later give it to them to wear. [755]

Coyote, dog, wolf.—Details of a typical coyote ceremony have already been given[39] and need not be repeated here. 825

While sickness can be contracted from a dog, at least by a child, a coyote or wolf ceremony is thought sufficient to remove it. A certain amount of ceremonialism has grown up around dogs, but these usages are for the benefit of the dogs and not to cure ailments they have brought. [753] [231] [755]

[39] See pp. 40–41.

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231 When you want to train a dog to be a good hunter or watchdog, burn an eagle
789 feather for it.
224 I wrap up an eagle feather in cloth with the kind of flies that bother animals. I burn this and throw a blanket over the dog's head so he can inhale the smoke.

If meat is rubbed on your feet and then given to a dog, that dog will stick by you and be a good watchdog. It will love you and guard you.

This is the way to make a dog good for trailing. Cut up four pieces of meat, spit on them, rub them on your moccasins to get some soil from there on them, put the meat in the dog's mouth, and talk to him, giving him instructions just as you would a boy.

Another way is to take a section of deer meat from the place where it swells between the two hoofs. Put this with the feather of the buzzard or crow. Put this to the windy side of the dog. Light it and make the dog inhale, saying to him, "May you keep the trail." We use the buzzard and crow because they fly all over and never miss a dead object. We use the deer meat so the dog will go after deer.

A friend told me to chop up a little rattlesnake into four parts and to give it to a dog with his meat. This is to be done when you want a fierce dog. It makes him fierce all right, but it is too dangerous. The dog is hard to handle then, even by the owner. The dog gets too mean, like a mountain lion. But if a man is far out alone and is afraid, it might be done.

232 There is a certain prickly pear that is called "dog medicine." It is a general tonic for a dog. You put it into his mouth whole.

825 The wolf has been known to offer a ceremony and special aid:
787 He smoked and prayed and went to bed again. He slept a little while and
539 then was waked up again. Before him sat a big timber wolf, white as snow. It was the most beautiful creature, he said, he ever saw. He wanted to touch it but was afraid to. Then Wolf took its paw and touched him and told him he needn't be afraid. So he touched the wolf. The fur felt very soft and fine and warm. He touched the four legs of the wolf, then touched his own legs and said, "Let my legs be as strong as yours."

The wolf spoke to him and said, "I've seen you. . . . . I came to you myself. I will add what I can to the strength of your legs. You have done the right thing. . . . ."

231 *Horse* (*mule*, *burro*).—A characteristic horse ceremony was
787 obtained by a man who was raiding for horses:
539 Two men started south from their home. On the way a horse spoke to one of
755 them and gave him a ceremony. It happened this way. They were raiding for horses. They got to a town south of Tucson and found some horses there. They began to drive them off. At a certain place they stopped to rope horses to ride.

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They had to run the horses up the side of a mountain and were at the top. One of them caught a gentle horse and got on it. The other roped a wild one, and when he was about to get on, it pitched with him and threw him off. He lay there as though he were dead. Only his throat moved a little. 231 787 539 755

The man who was left sat there crying. He didn't know what to do. He had a little buckskin pouch of pollen tied around his waist. There was one old sorrel horse standing near by He marked the forehead of the horse with pollen and asked the horse to help him restore his companion. He led the horse to the man, from the east, and the horse put his nose to the man four times and neighed. In the same way he led the horse to the injured man from the south, the west, and the north, and the horse acted the same each time. Then the injured man began to stir, and he got up and asked what had happened. The sorrel horse went back to the herd then.

Later this sorrel horse talked to the man it had cured. It told him where the two men should camp that night on the return journey. They followed this advice. The horse told him where to camp for the second night too. This was at an open place, but the horse said, "Do not be afraid even though it is out in the open." They camped in that place and were not disturbed. The third night the horse told him that they should camp at a place called Sand House. On the fourth night the horse told him that they should stop between two mountains.

Then the horse spoke to the one it had cured. It told him, "I'm old and I'm no longer strong. I'd like to take you back to the place where you live, but I can't make it. A man who is thin can make it back to his home. But horses are different. We have to be fat and strong. So after you start out tomorrow you are going to miss me. But don't look for me. I am going back to my home. But I'll tell you now just how to continue your journey, where to stop each night, and where your relatives are now."

And the horse told him, "I give these songs to you. You will be a shaman through the horse. If anyone falls off a horse and is injured, you can heal him with these songs. These songs will cure even if bones are broken. And here is some medicine to use for those who are hurt inside.[19] But if the large cords at the back of the neck are broken, the ones which hold up the head, this ceremony will not be able to restore the person." [756]

The men continued the journey as the horse directed and got back safely to their people.

How this man effectively used the ceremony he thus obtained is the subject of another narrative: 231 755 539

A leading man rode out with others to get horses that they had tied out somewhere. The rest came back, but this leading man was still missing. His family were worried. Then someone saw his horse standing on a ridge. It was saddled,

[19] Possibly "horse medicine" (*Eriogonum jamesii*), of which it is said, "It is a plant used in the horse ceremony. It is chewed for luck with horses. Give it to horses, too, when they are sick." [137] [777] [232]

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but the man was not on it. A group went out to look for him. They found him in a gully, unconscious and badly hurt. He had started from one hill to go to another where he had a horse tied to a tree, when the horse he was riding stepped into a badger hole, stumbled, and threw him.

They put him in a blanket, and four men, one carrying each end, brought him home. They asked the man who had learned the ceremony from the horse if he would bring the leader back to life. He said he would do it.

He told the people to get four poles like those which are used for the ceremonial tepee of the girl's puberty rite. The shaman had the people make a tepee, one big enough so that the horse could get in. He had them bring the injured man in there. The doorway was to the east, and for a covering to it the shaman hung up a big buckskin with the head downward and touching the ground. They brought the horse which had caused the accident around facing the door and took the rope off him.

The shaman, who was in the tepee, sang one song. The horse did not move. The shaman went on to his second song. The horse just stood there and made no sound. The shaman sang his third song. The horse stood in the same place. The shaman grew angry now. He spoke to the horse and said, "Why don't you cure this poor man? You are the only one that can help him. You had better do it without delay." The son of the shaman came out of the tepee now. He was angry too. He said to the horse, "You have done enough harm. There is no use thinking more evil things. You'd better neigh and do what you are supposed to." He hit the horse in the mouth.

Then the horse began to walk to the tepee by itself. The horse stopped at the door, put its nose under the buckskin, pushed it up, and walked in. Then the horse approached the man from each of the four directions in sunwise order and neighed each time. Then it left the tepee. The shaman sang his last song.

In these songs the parts of the horse are given names, and the saddle and saddle blanket have different names too. The back of the saddle is called the evening star, the sides of the saddle are called clouds, the saddle blanket a cirrus cloud, the saddle strap lightning, the saddle horn the sun, the cinch the rainbow, and the buckle the moon. The forehead of the horse is called abalone and the ears are the whirlwind.

When the last song was over, the man who had been lying there got up and asked what had happened. He was all right after that.

A celebrated cure achieved by a woman shaman of the Eastern Chiricahua band is of particular interest in that the use of the "big tepee" has encouraged the practitioner to extend the analogy and to draw upon a number of the features of the girl's puberty rite:

I saw an old woman who knew the ceremony of the horse. She died long ago. She had songs for the bridle and for every part of the horse. She had many

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horses, and all were nice and fat because she knew songs for them. She would take wild horses and saddle them up. They were always gentle to her. When anyone fell off a horse and got hurt, they went to her and she cured them. I'll tell you what she did one time. I was so little I can't remember what was done in there, though I saw it. But my folks and others remembered and told me.

One time a young man got a bunch of horses. With the others there were wild horses and mules which had never been saddled or roped. He tried to get one wild horse out of that bunch. He roped it and put the halter on it. He staked it out for a while. Then he turned it loose on a long rope. He watered it and tried to pull it back. It tried to get away. It circled him two or three times and then started to run. The rope caught on his legs and he was dragged over a rough place. Finally the rope broke and he lay there. His face, arms, and legs were skinned. He was unconscious.

They picked him up and carried him to his tepee. Then his people went to this woman and asked her to sing over the man. She came and looked at him. "He's pretty much bruised up," she said. She didn't want to do it. But they begged her. At last she said she would.

She started to work. I was there, just a little fellow then. She said, "I want a bridle, a saddle blanket, a saddle, and a whip." She asked for those four things because her power told her to. They gave these to her. She started to sing. First she told the father of the boy to rope that same horse. He did.

"Tie him close to the tepee."

They tied the horse near by, under a big tree. She had them tie the head so that the horse couldn't eat grass or drink water. "If that horse eats or drinks during this ceremony, the boy will get worse," she said. She sang over this young man four nights. She sang from sunset to sunrise for the four nights. The horse had nothing to eat or drink for the four days and nights.

They were in a tepee like the one the Mescalero have. The last day at sunrise she told them to take the cover off and leave nothing but the poles standing. Then she told them to clean up the inside. The sick man was lying there. She painted the sun on the palm of her hand with red paint and pollen. She sang and rubbed it off on the man's face. Then she turned the horse loose. She took the rope off. Everybody got away. The horse began to paw the ground and neighed four times. Then it started toward the man. The horse went in there. The woman said, "Take the blanket off that man," and they did so.

The horse licked the man all over and rubbed him all over with his nose. Everyone watched. The horse was on the east side and it pawed there. Then it went to the south side and pawed the ground. And it did this in turn to the west and north. Then it went around the man four times and out to the east. It looked around for other horses. It saw some and ran to them. Then this man's senses began to come back to him and he got well.

A less elaborate ceremony, performed in an emergency, was described:

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231 755 539 It happened at Baharito. We were driving a bunch of wild horses. T. had the gentle horses and some of us younger men were running the wild ones. P.'s horse got his foot in a hole. The horse fell with him. The rope was caught around P.'s knee and he lay like dead with his mouth open when we came up. After the horse fell, it got up and walked a little ways and stood there. I was going to P., but Old T. said, "Get away and don't touch him."[31] So we went away and talked of other things.

T. went to the east side and walked toward him, praying softly to himself. I could not hear what he said. He touched him, kicked him four times under the foot, put pollen in his mouth, and told him to get up. And P. did. T. went back to where the horse fell and got dirt from four tracks and put it in P.'s mouth. Then he got saliva from the mouth of the horse and put it all over P.'s clothes.

231 755 533 539 [126] In recording ceremonial songs, the details of another horse ceremony were learned:

This is R.'s horse ceremonial song. We were driving horses to Whitetail where we were going to brand them. This happened at Whitetail Spring. There were only three horses left in the corral. W. went across. Two others were in there roping horses. The three horses started at once and knocked W. down. He was nearly dead; he didn't come to for three or four hours.

Then R. worked on him. That's how I heard this song. He sang more than this one song, but I just caught this one. If you ever get hurt from a horse, it will fix you up. He used some herbs in his ceremony too. . . . .

These are the words of the song:

The sun's horse is a yellow stallion;
His nose, the place above his nose, is of haze,
His ears, of the small lightning, are moving back and forth.
He has come to us.
The sun's horse is a yellow stallion,
A blue stallion, a black stallion;
The sun's horse has come out to us.

231 789 [533] [782] The horse ceremony is of great importance also in taming wild horses and in securing fresh horses on raids. When it is used for these purposes, the rite is confined principally to songs and prayers.

[777] Some knew how to sing before going on a raid. They sang to corralled horses, so the horses would give them good luck.

[726] Before leaving for raid or war, they often have a ceremony conducted by one who knows the ceremony of the horse. This is so good horses will fall into their

[756] [31] After a mishap with a horse, recovery is speedier if the injured person is not touched until a horse shaman takes charge.

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hands, so that their horses will be strong and carry them through, and so that all in the party will have good luck.

231 525 541 789 [237]

Gambling is a serious enterprise, and horse-racing is one of its important forms:

A horse shaman performs a ceremony over race horses used for gambling. I have seen horses worked over like this. Horses which have been taken care of by a horse shaman in this way always have an eagle feather tied just where the tail bone leaves off. The owner of the horse usually gives the horse shaman something that has to do with a horse for his pay—a saddle, a blanket, a bridle, or something like that.

Anything fast, like the coyote, the fox, the wind, or clouds, should be used in songs to make a horse run fast.[33]

232 756 231

When a valuable horse is to be gelded or is injured or sick (though "if a horse has been witched, you can't cure it"), the owner is likely to consult a horse shaman.

T. . . . . knew the ceremony of the horse. He knew a lot about the sickness of this animal. I saw him castrate them. People brought the horses to him to castrate. He treated horses that couldn't pass water and some that were going blind too.

232 789 231

But often the owner, though he is not a horse shaman, injects some ceremonialism into his care of his horse:

If a horse can't pass water, we have a little ceremony for it. Take a rope, hit the horse on the back with it, and tie a knot in the rope. Do this four times. Say prayers meanwhile. Don't hit the horse hard enough to hurt it. Then trot the horse a few hundred yards and bring it back to the same position.

When a horse gets blind, they cut the vein leading down from the eye that's getting bad. The horse gets well then. This is done to sheep now too. I have done it to both. If a horse is sluggish, it is given a root called "black medicine" which is put in oats or mescal or something the horse likes.

We practice bloodletting on a horse which is lazy. Then we put turquoise on the cut.

231 789 [237]

Horses that are scary and jump sideways are fixed with eagle feathers. These are tied on the mane or to the bridle. Then the horse doesn't get scared. I did it like that at Whitetail myself.

[825] [237]

[33] The hummingbird is used as an aid in racing too: "Its feathers help in making a man or a horse speedy."

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231 As various domestic animals have become more numerous, the
232 horse shaman has seemed to be the logical person to cure them
756 and is now thought of as the one who "knows a lot about [domestic] animal sickness." "These are the ones who take care of the diseases of animals; they have a general knowledge of animals."

231 There is some difference of opinion concerning the material
756 benefits of a horse ceremony to the horse shaman himself. The story of the woman horse shaman whose horses were sleek and fine seems to bear out the statement of an informant who said, "Some persons have a ceremony from the horse and have fit horses all the time." But the opposite view is held by others. "I think that N. had power from the horse. His horses were poor. Some people say that a man with a horse ceremony has pretty poor horses. He can help others but not himself."

825 *Wild goose.*—An excellent example of the special abilities
787 which a shaman may acquire because of the characteristics of his
539 supernatural guardian, is power obtained from the wild goose:

During the old times when Geronimo was around doing mischief, the Chiricahua used to get a band of ten or twelve and go to the Mexican border and drive cattle home. A certain man got tired and was left behind. It got to the point where they couldn't help him, so they left him behind. They thought he would catch up. He was tired, hungry, discouraged, and had given up. He was thinking all sorts of unpleasant things. It was pretty bad.

All at once Goose appeared to him and said, "What's the matter?" He said, "I'm in a bad fix."

Goose said, "All right, I'll give you a certain ceremony, and you must obey. You must follow my directions exactly."

He gave the man four songs. The goose spoke of feathers; it told him he had to rub them on his right side. Goose is long winded and goes for many days. Goose said to him, "I will give you my endurance."

It happened that way. He caught up to the others. Everyone was surprised. The man was able to pass over broad flat lands without being tired out after that. The one who told me this story says that he had this man sing over him; then he won an important race.

825 *Nighthawk.*—An informant tells how he was cured by the
755 power of Nighthawk in a rite jointly conducted by two shamans:
539

Old Man D. and T. knew the ceremony of the nighthawk. I saw them perform it several times. They sang together. Both knew the same thing; one learned it from the other. T. learned it from D.

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"The unborn of the peccary is eaten also. One pig has lots of them."

That the wildcat was formerly eaten is both affirmed and denied. One informant classed it with wolf and fox and said, "We don't like the meat; also it is forbidden and might kill us." It is possible that some individuals used it for food. Everyone wants the skin, and so the animal is killed whenever opportunity offers.

A number of informants have agreed that mountain-lion meat is edible. In addition, the hide is the favorite material for the quiver. Consequently, no opportunity to shoot a cougar is overlooked by the hunters.

Infrequently the chance was afforded to hunt bison. One account tells of a long trip to a point north and east of the present site of Albuquerque and of success in hunting bison there. Occasionally one was found in the vicinity of Hot Springs and was secured by the people of that region. But bison were entirely absent from the greater part of the territory.

In the historic period wild cattle became abundant and were supplemented by domestic stock obtained on raids to the south. The stock introduced by the Europeans became important very early:

> Long ago there were cattle which we hunted and used. The old people say that there were some wild cattle and wild horses, wilder than deer. I don't know where they came from. Many ate burros and mules in those days; many ate horses.
>
> Before the Americans came, a few Chiricahua had cattle, and, of course, there were some with many horses. In wars with the Mexicans they would sometimes steal cattle, and that accounts for the presence of cattle among the Chiricahua. They'd herd the cattle to a river and let them stay around there and increase. Five or six or a dozen men who made the raid would divide the cattle among them, and then the cattle belonged to them personally. Then these men might have enough meat so they wouldn't have to hunt any more for a while.

Many animals are hunted only for their fur. Among these are the badger (from which a skin bag for holding piñon seeds and acorns is made), the beaver, and the otter.

Birds are much more significant as a source of feathers than as food:

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the same division of opinion concerning their suitability exists as in the case of the turkey. One person, for instance, insisted, "The Chiricahua never eat duck. They just don't like it. I never hear them say why." Yet another man just as positively stated, "The Chiricahua eat ducks, quails, geese, doves, turkeys, and prairie chickens." 223 262

Birds are desired for their feathers, and oval or peaked blinds are constructed to catch them: "The bird blind is shaped something like a tepee—the poles slant up together. You put sticks on the top of it so the birds come and sit on it. You can shoot them easily this way." 223 237

Eagle feathers are in great demand, and the hunter is always on the lookout for an eagle which has so gorged itself that it is almost helpless: "Sometimes a man is lucky and comes upon an eagle when it has eaten so much that it can't get off the ground quickly. Then the man runs at it and hits it with a club. The eagle is that way—it will eat so much that it can't fly."

Eagles are also deliberately trapped:

> Anyone can kill an eagle and use the feathers for arrows. When they find a dead animal, they put snares around the carcass to capture the eagle. They make an Indian trap. They use sinew, making loops with it which draw up tightly [slipknots] when the eagle steps in one and moves. The carcass or the meat that is used is tied down to a big rock so that the eagle cannot get it easily but must walk about a lot. These knots are all around, covered with grass. They are attached to sticks or brush. When the eagle is caught it is killed with a club, hit on the head. The eagle is not left alive intentionally, but if you hit it and think it is dead and then after it is plucked it gets up again, you leave it alone. Anyone may put out one of these traps.

One informant, a member of the Southern Chiricahua band, claims that eaglets are sometimes taken from a nest in the absence of the parent-birds, and he describes a cage in which they are reared until the feathers are ready for plucking: "They were caught on a mountain slope close to the present Arizona line. They were caught when they were small and were raised. We never caught grown-up ones. People climbed trees to get them." 231 • [237]

The eaglets, according to this testimony, are kept in a large cage, approximately ten feet high and thirty inches wide, made of branches tied together with rawhide strips. This cage is secured

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231 to four stout poles which are sunk into the ground. Inside, near the top, are perches on which the eaglets may rest.

An Eastern Chiricahua band leader had three eagles in one house. Then another was built. There were two in there. The little eagles used to go out and come back. They ate lungs. They fought like dogs. When they had had enough to eat, they went to the top. Eagles that are raised are never killed. After they have pulled the feathers off, they let them go.

One other informant recalled having seen eagles in captivity but sharply reduced the size of the cage employed from that pictured in the preceding account. The practice of capturing eaglets alive and raising them must be quite rare, however, for a number of other elderly commentators denied knowledge of it. One man explicitly stated: "We didn't keep eagles in a cage. Many were afraid of them and wouldn't touch them. We couldn't raise them. We were moving all the time, staying three days or so in one place. That's why we stored our goods in cave caches."

[361]

226
262 It is possible that some individuals of the Southern Chiricahua band or members of some of its local groups make an attempt to secure fish and eat them:

My people eat fish. There was a certain river in Mexico where my people came. There they would lift rocks in the water and shoot the fish they found there with arrows. If they were traveling they just put the fish on the coals and broiled them. They also used to boil them in water. They ate fish eggs, but they ate no shell fish at all.

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Another informant, an Eastern Chiricahua who lived close to the Rio Grande, explained that those with whom he lived fished whenever they could and ate any kind of fish.

262 It may be, therefore, that the dislike of fish reported by many informants is to be correlated with unfamiliarity with this kind of food and the distance from any possible supply. The intensity of the repugnance and the willingness of many to equate the fish with the snake, suggest something stronger than mere unfamiliarity, however. It is more likely that the Southwestern taboo on fish was beginning to influence the Chiricahua markedly and that the alleged similarity between the fish and the snake afforded a convenient rationalization.

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In an attempt to explain why his people made so little use of fish a Chiricahua acquaintance said:

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If it rained we had a slow-burning fuse that kept a fire going. And when it burned to the end we lit another from it. Thus we kept a fire burning at a rainy time. To play safe, we usually took these fuses along with us in case of emergency, especially if it looked like rain.

Since the operation of the fire drill is considered hard work, whenever there is a chance of getting fire by other means, these are attempted first. It is not unusual, for instance, to send some member of the household to a neighboring camp to borrow fire. He "carries a hot coal between two sticks and runs back to his camp. Mesquite wood will burn the longest when carried this way."

Equipment for the horse.—There is a tendency to associate the horse with the man and his affairs. Women obtain horses by gift and in payment for services, particularly ceremonial services, but the majority of the horses remain in the possession of the men:

Caring for stock is man's work. Men round up the horses and cattle. When a horse is to be loaded, the woman gets the pack ready, but the man does the loading. Men make the saddles, and they saddle the horses for themselves and their wives. The women know how to saddle horses, however, and can do it when necessary. A woman might saddle a gentle horse. A widow has to saddle her own horse.

It is the business of the man to furnish the equipment needed in making use of the horse—the saddle, stirrups, bridle, bit, and quirt.

The saddle, which is modeled after European examples, has a cottonwood framework. Tree forks are whittled down to form the front and cantle. On the front a projection is left for the horn. Two flat boards are lashed between these forks, one on either side, to form the saddle skirts. Wet hide, often with the fur left on, is stretched over this frame and laced into place. As it dries, it contracts and fits securely. When metal tools came into use, the pieces of the frame were joined still more solidly by burning holes through the wood with a red-hot metal punch and drawing rawhide laces through them.

The man also makes a pack saddle, little more than a pad or frame of grass or hide bundles. He makes, too, rounded oak stir-